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ORIGIN EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EB-11 CAB-09 CIAE-00 COME-00 DODE-00

DOTE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 FAA-00 SAJ-01 NIC-01

SAM-01 PM-07 H-03 L-03 NSC-07 PA-04 PRS-01 SP-03

SS-20 USIA-15 /112 R

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EB/AV - MR. COBB (SUBS)

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 077430

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: EPRN, CH, TW, JA

SUBJECT: JAPAN-PRC CIVIL AVIATION AGREEMENT

REF: TOKYO 4974

1. JAPANESE AMBASSADOR YASUKAWA CALLED ON ASSISTANT SECRETARY INGERSOLL LATE ON APRIL 15 TO DISCUSS JAPANESE NEGOTIATIONS WITH PRC OF CIVIL AIR AGREEMENT. YASUKAWA OPENED DISCUSSION BY SAYING THAT PROBLEM HAS TWO ASPECTS. FIRST, THERE IS QUESTION OF EFFECT ON TAIWAN-JAPAN RELATIONS AS RESULTS OF AGREEMENT. SECOND, BILATERAL ARRANGEMENTS WITH PEKING ON AIR SERVICES AND BEYOND RIGHTS HAVE TO BE COMPLETED. YASUKAWA SAID THAT NEGOTIATIONS WERE BEING ACTIVELY PURSUED AND NO AGREEMENT HAD YET BEEN REACHED, BUT THAT FULL AGREEMENT COULD BE CON-
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CLUDED IN A FEW DAYS AND MIGHT BE SIGNED AS EARLY AS

APRIL 16 OR 17 OR POSSIBLY BY THE END OF THIS WEEK. THIS WOULD PERMIT SUBMISSION OF THE AGREEMENT TO JAPANESE DIET BEFORE IT ADJOURNS AT END OF MONTH.

2. THE POSITION OF THE ROC WAS MADE CLEAR WHEN THE ROC FOREIGN MINISTER SAID ON APRIL 11 THAT IF THE PRC AND JAPAN CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT DETRIMENTAL TO THE PRESTIGE AND INTERESTS OF TAIWAN AS A SOVEREIGN STATE, CIVIL AIR SERVICE TO JAPAN WOULD BE ABANDONED. YASUKAWA SAID HE WAS UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO SAY THAT JAPAN WANTS TO AVOID DAMAGE TO DEFACTO RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN AND WILL EXERT

EVERY EFFORT TO AVOID THAT CONSEQUENCE. IF A BREAK IN RELATIONS OCCURS IT WOULD HAVE ADVERSE EFFECTS ON THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ATMOSPHERE. HE SAID THE GOJ PLACES HIGH PRIORITY ON MAINTAINING RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN ON A STABLE BASIS WITHOUT CHANGE. THE JAPANESE DELEGATION HAD TRIED TO PROTECT TAIWAN INTERESTS BUT THE LATTER DOES NOT SEEM TO APPRECIATE THOSE EFFORTS. YASUKAWA EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT THE ROC COULD BE MORE FLEXIBLE.

3. YASUKAWA SAID HE WAS NOT INFORMED ABOUT THE NATURE OF CONTACTS WITH THE ROC BUT UNDERSTOOD INFORMAL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AIRLINES AND JAPAN AIRLINES HAD TAKEN PLACE. HE NOTED THAT FORMER AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S. USHIBA HAD RECENTLY VISITED TAIWAN. IT SEEMED POSSIBLE TO YASUKAWA THAT PRESS REPORTS OF THESE CONTACTS MAY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO A STIFFENING POSITION OF THE ROC.

4. YASUKAWA SAID THAT JAPAN WAS NOT ASKING THE USG TO TAKE ANY ACTION AND ASKED WHAT OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE ROC REACTION MIGHT BE. ASST SEC INGERSOLL SAID THAT THE SITUATION WAS NOT GOOD AND THE ROC SEEMED FIRM IN ITS POSITION. HE ASKED WHETHER JAPAN HAD TRIED TO LEAVE THE ROC A GRACEFUL WAY OUT OF ITS DIFFICULT POSITION. YASUKAWA SAID JAPAN HAD NO INTENTION OF CHANGING THE PRESENT PATTERN OF CIVIL AIR RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ROC AND JAPAN. HE SAID THE PRC HAS AGREED THAT JAPAN CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO TAKE ANY ACTION TO REVISE THE NATURE OF COMMERCIAL AIR SERVICES WITH THE ROC. YASUKAWA SAID HE

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HOPED THAT JAPANESE CITIZENS COULD MANAGE THE CHINA AIRLINE OPERATIONS IN JAPAN WITHOUT CHANGE. HE SAID JAPAN DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THE ROC FLAG BUT IF TAIWAN HOLDS TO ITS PRESENT POSITION THERE IS LITTLE JAPAN COULD DO. ASST SEC INGERSOLL ASKED WHETHER TALKS WERE GOING ON BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE ROC. YASUKAWA SAID HE WAS UNINFORMED ABOUT THAT BUT BELIEVED AMBASSADOR USHIBA MIGHT STILL BE IN TAIWAN. INGERSOLL SAID ONLY DIS-

CUSSIONS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES COULD SOLVE THE PROBLEM. YASUKAWA ASKED WHETHER THE ROC HAD APPLIED FOR A ROUTE THROUGH GUAM. INGERSOLL CONFIRMED THAT THE ROC HAD RAISED THE QUESTION OF TECHNICAL STOPS IN GUAM.

5. YASUKAWA SAID HIS INSTRUCTIONS WERE SIMPLY TO INFORM THE USG OF THE SITUATION AND NOT ASK FOR MEDIATION. HOWEVER, HE PERSONALLY WANTED TO INQUIRE IF THE U.S. COULD ENCOURAGE A FLEXIBLE ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE ROC. INGERSOLL RESPONDED THAT THE CONTINUATION OF TALKS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE ROC WAS THE ONLY WAY TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM. HE HOPED THE TWO GOVERNMENTS COULD MAINTAIN CONTACT THROUGH SOME CHANNEL AND AVOID PUBLIC STATEMENTS

WHICH WOULD COMPLICATE RELATIONS.

6. SPEAKING OFF THE RECORD YASUKAWA SAID HE WAS CONCERNED THAT A CANCELLATION OF FLIGHT SERVICES BETWEEN TAIWAN AND TOKYO WOULD STIMULATE DISSIDENT PROTEST IN JAPAN AND PERHAPS FORCE SOME MEMBERS OF THE PRESENT CABINET TO RESIGN. FOREIGN MINISTER OHIRA COULD CONCEIVABLY BE EMBARRASSED BY SUCH A SITUATION AND, IF HE HAD TO LEAVE THE CABINET BECAUSE NO SATISFACTORY AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED, IT MIGHT BE IMPOSSIBLE TO CONCLUDE ANY AGREEMENT AT ALL FOR SOME YEARS.

THE DISCUSSION THEN SHIFTED TO OTHER SUBJECTS. YASUKAWA CONCLUDED THE MEETING BY SAYING THAT, IF ASKED BY THE PRESS ON WHAT HAD HAPPEN DURING THE MEETING, HE WOULD ONLY SAY THAT THERE WAS A GENERAL AND PERIODIC EXCHANGE OF VIEWS. KISSINGER

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